

Short-Term Vacation Rentals: Residential or Commercial Use?

By Nate Hutcherson

What happens when people live and vacation in the same town, where vacation homes and permanent homes are often side by side?

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Michael Davidson

Americans love to vacation as much as they love their vacation destinations, and demographers have noticed. New migration patterns into some of the fastest growing communities in the country—resort towns—suggest that many people are relocating to the places that were once just summer or weekend getaways. According to Peter Wolf, author of *Hot Towns*, "A new species of American is on the move: not, as in the past, the needy, but the comfortable, well-educated, and well-trained; not the job seekers and risk takers, but those with leisure, choices, and the wherewithal to seek out the best." By Wolf's estimates, this migration includes anywhere from 700,000 to 1.6 million people per year. The strong 1990s economy brought a wave of second-home purchases as investments and family retreats. Resort areas—coastal, mountain, and lakeside—have what these trendsetters want: natural beauty, fresh air, and recreation. Communities with such amenities are prime candidates for conflicts in land-use planning.

What happens when people live and vacation in the same town, where vacation homes and permanent homes are often side by side? Regulations that govern short-term rentals in residential districts are getting more attention as planners and residents notice that these vacation homes can have a much greater impact on the community than those that house year-round residents. Angry neighbors say short-term rentals look like single-family homes but function more like commercial uses. The crux of the matter for planners is finding a balance between the interests of year-round, seasonal, and vacationing people while considering the effects on property rights, economic vitality, and the sanctity of residential neighborhoods.

The dynamics vary from one town to the next, but the issue seems to grow more contentious as more vacationers and year-round residents live next to one another. A survey of almost 40 tourist-oriented communities was taken for this issue of *Zoning News* in order to shed light on this increasingly vexing land-use phenomenon.

Relevance and Research Background

In 2001, APA's Planning Advisory Service recorded an increase in the number of inquiries about planning for and regulating short-term rental properties in residential areas—particularly single-family districts. The survey revealed that a significant percentage experienced an increase in conflicts between these and adjacent land uses. While some have recently drafted ordinances to address the short-term rental problem, others are still in the process of doing so or have expressed the need for change, and because resort communities have different attitudes toward tourism, each approaches the issue in a different way.

Impacts

The impact of a short-term vacationer compared with year-round residents can be significant. Seasonal populations live and work in the community, and thus become somewhat integrated. Naturally, they increase demands on infrastructure and services. Impacts associated with short-term vacationers, however, are more nuisance related, often generating noise and light pollution. Generally, the shorter the stay, the less inclined one might be to respect neighbor diplomacy. Late-night music and merrymaking, floodlights, garbage taken out to the street on off days, dogs at large, illegal parking, and negligent property maintenance are

garden-variety complaints often cited by annoyed neighbors. Neighbors, planners, and property owners point to the correlation between such problems and length of stay for the rental property. In other words: the shorter the stay, the higher the impact. The stereotypical "weekend warrior"—trying to pack the most fun into the least amount of time—will invariably generate more trips to the store or beach, keep later hours, and create a greater disruption with light and noise. Still, for some communities, the concern is not so much the negative impacts as the lack of community involvement typical of transients.

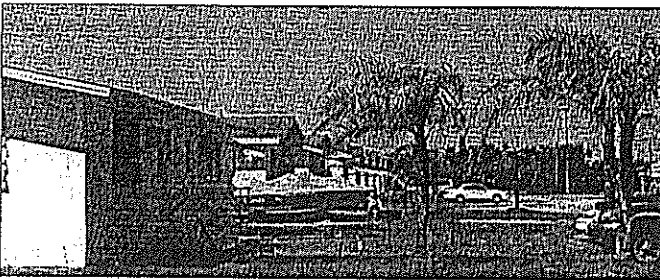
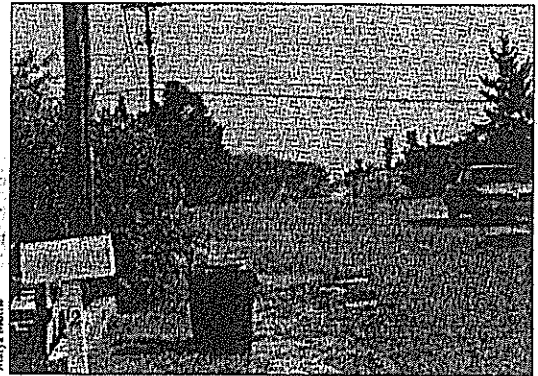
Affordable Housing

A more insidious problem with short-term rentals is their impact on housing costs. When property owners decide to increase their "rent stream" with short-term rental agreements rather than renting by the season or year, they essentially "squeeze" the

Politics

Planners admit to a dilemma: Many property owners rely on the rent streams and spending dollars generated by vacationers, but locals want to preserve their neighborhood's residential character. Furthermore, business owners would prefer to see an expansion of the local vacation lodging market. When property owners are unwilling to forfeit certain rights, leaving them at odds with neighbors who want the relative quietude expected in a single-family neighborhood, what should be done?

Indeed, people "vote with their feet" when choosing vacation destinations or a permanent home, so politicians try to appease the greatest number of constituents. Invariably, residents will threaten to abandon a once-beloved community or resort locale if renting a house on the beach or settling into a neighborhood means an endless stream of nuisances from disruptive vacationers.



(Above, left) Short-term rentals in Ship Bottom, New Jersey. Paved yards and excessive numbers of vehicles at short-term rental houses are a common complaint of neighbors. Believe it or not, these are the fronts of the houses. (Above, right) Most short-term renters are unaware of garbage collection schedules. (Left) Boat and recreation vehicle parking is an unpleasant sight for neighbors in this Monroe County, Florida, neighborhood.

supply of housing, pushing up the demand and, subsequently, the cost. Ty Simrosky, planning director for Key West, Florida, says, "It's another means of financing the acquisition of local housing by non-local people and it fuels speculation in a rising housing market." Simrosky explains that by allowing short-term rentals, investors can cover the carrying costs of a house for a year or two while the property appreciates in value and then sell it for a healthy profit. Simrosky also says that while long-term homebuyers are strongly opposed to short-term rentals in a prospective neighborhood, investment buyers are less inclined to care if a neighboring property is a short-term rental. This can create a snowball effect that eventually replaces year-round neighborhood residents with vacationers.

Communities most affected by a housing shortage are those with businesses that rely on lower-paying service and tourism jobs. High housing costs have pushed many workers out of the community, even beyond commuting distance. Simrosky also speculates that there are workers being bused in from the Florida mainland to sleep in bunk-house conditions just to work for three- or four-day periods in Key West.

Residents of Monroe County, Florida, put the issue on a ballot, narrowly deciding—51 to 49 percent—against allowing short-term rentals in improved subdivisions (single-family districts). Subdivisions retained the right to vote on the issue separately.

Health, Safety, and General Welfare

Historically, property owners in resort communities could rent a home, regardless of the duration of the stay, by claiming that the house was not used "primarily for commercial purposes." What this really meant was that the structure could not be used for such purposes for more than 50 percent of the year. However, planners claim that approach is difficult to monitor and easy to abuse. Most feel zoning codes and a licensing system offer a better solution despite the time and expense required for administering and enforcing new regulations.

Most of the surveyed communities deal with short-term rentals through the zoning code. Imperial Beach, California, justifies its interim short-term rental ordinance with a purpose and intent that states "there is a current and immediate threat to the public health, safety, or welfare of its citizens by owners or their agents renting or selling units for periods of thirty

Community	Regulate Short-Term Rentals	Specific Ordinance Provisions ¹	Term Used	Permitted		License Required	Year Adopted	Legal Challenges
				Number of Consecutive Days ²	Number of Times Per Year			
Aspen, CO	No							
Boone, NC	No							
Burlington, VT	No							
Cape Cod, MA	No							
Carmel-by-the-Sea, CA	Yes	Yes	Transient Commercial Use	30		Prohibited	1975	
Cocoa Beach, FL	Yes	Yes	Transient Lodging	30	3	Yes	2000	
Colchester, VT	No							
Essex County, CO	Yes					per/PUD		
Imperial Beach, CA	Yes	Yes	Short-term Rental	30		Prohibited		
Islamorada, FL	Yes	Yes	Vacation Rental	28		Yes		
Key West, FL	Yes	Yes	Transient Lodging	30		Yes		
Kiawah Island, SC	Drafting		Short-term Rental	30		Yes		
Maggie Valley, NC	No							
Manchester, VT	No							
Marathon, FL	Yes	Yes	Vacation Rental	30		Yes		
Melbourne Beach, CA	Yes	No	Resort Dwelling	30		Yes		
Mendocino County, CA	Yes	No	Transient Habitation	30		Yes	1987	
Monroe County, FL	Yes	Yes		30		Yes		Yes/Upheld
Monterey, CA	Yes	No	Short-term Residential Rental	30		Prohibited		
Muskogee, MI	Yes	No				Yes		
Myrtle Beach, SC	Yes	Yes	Transient Accommodation	30		Yes		
Nantucket, MA	No							
Ocean City, MD	No							
Pasco County, FL	Yes	Yes	Short-term Rental	30		Yes	1999	
Saco, ME	Yes	Yes	Seasonal Rental			Prohibited		
San Juan County, NM	Yes	Yes	Daily Rental			Yes		
Sanibel, FL	Yes	Yes	Transient Accommodation/ Residence/Guesthouse	30		Yes	2001	
Santa Cruz, CA	No/Transient Occupancy Tax		Short-term Rental				1984	
Saugatuck, MI	No							
South Haven, MI	Yes	Yes	Short-term Dwelling Unit			Yes		
Stowe, VT	No							
Sturgeon Bay, WI	No/Transient Occupancy Tax							
Sullivan's Island, SC	Yes	Yes	Vacation Rental	28		Yes		
Telluride, CO	Yes		Short-term Dwelling Unit	30		Yes	1999	
Traverse City, MI	No							
Vail, CO	No							
Yachats, OR	Yes	Yes	Transient Rental	30		all Zones		

This matrix is not exhaustive. Every reasonable attempt was made to achieve accuracy and thoroughness, but variations in ordinance language, format, and local practice made a "complete" matrix impossible. Thus, it is meant only as a quick reference guide for readers of this article. The short-term rental survey evolved as it was being conducted, so not all questions were asked uniformly or of every survey participant.

1. This indicates any section of the code that is dedicated to short-term rentals, such as interim ordinances or amendments.
2. Language varies from code to code in terms of how they specify a time period. Where a month or four weeks was used as the length of the term, 30 days is the default response.
3. Community preferred not be mentioned by name.
4. Decision made by subdivision bylaws.
5. STRs not permitted by right in any of the zones.
6. In most restrictive districts, they are permitted to rent three times or fewer per year for a total of 30 days or less.

consecutive calendar days or less . . . and that such rentals in the residential zones of the city . . . may create adverse impacts."

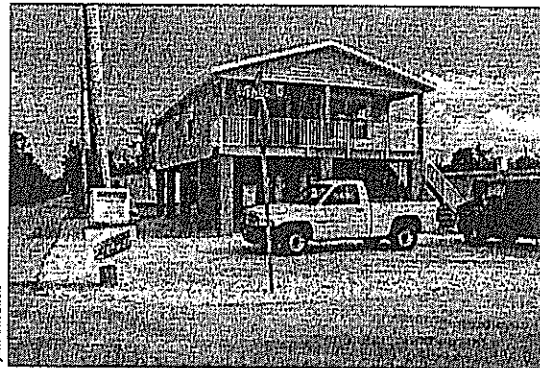
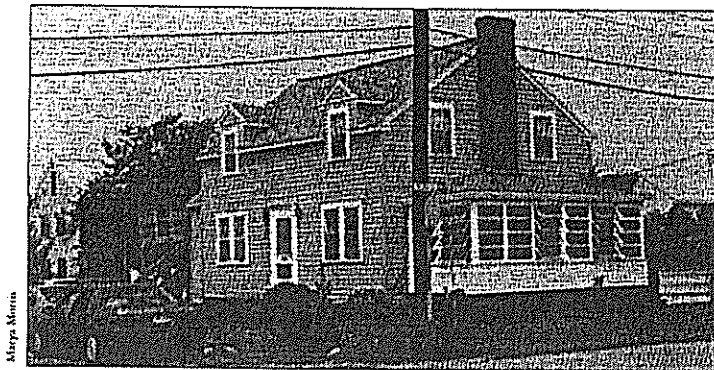
Commonly cited reasons for drafting an ordinance or provision for short-term rentals include protecting residential character, maintaining housing affordability, managing infrastructure and service requirements, and complying with hurricane evacuation capacity. Zoning ordinances, business permits, and transient occupancy taxes are ways of managing this quasi-commercial use.

Definitions are often at the root of governing short-term rentals. Unfortunately, many zoning codes have a discrepancy between defined terms and the provisions that use them. Terms are sometimes defined at the beginning of the ordinance but then never used in the provisions. Conversely, provisions may contain undefined terms, rendering the code too ambiguous. For example, some towns prohibit "transient rentals" in certain districts without

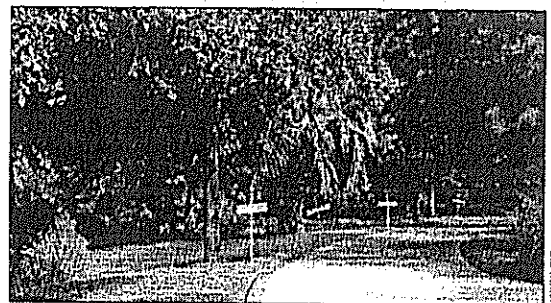
about what actually is a short-term rental. Length of stay (where not determined by a definition of transient) is an important factor in defining short-term rentals.

There is a wide range of occupancy tenure in a short-term rental ordinance. Communities specify the maximum length of stay in days, weeks, or months. Some simply distinguish the use by type of occupant, usually transient or tourist, in which case the terms should be clarified in the definitions section.

Measures of occupants' permanency can include everything from specifying the length of stay to whether the residence is the legal address of its occupants. At this fundamental level, communities can best begin to guide local land-use practices. Here, parameters are set largely according to the nature of a community's tourist population, the importance of tourism on the local economy, and community goals.



(Above, left) Short-term rental property prominently displayed on a corner lot in Lewes, Delaware. The impact: Vehicles of vacationers spilling over from the driveway onto the street. The problem: This type of impact occurring for weeks or months on end. (Above, right) Apparently, more pavement, less yard means more parking and less yard maintenance for this short-term rental property in Monroe County, Florida. (Right) Driveway signs for a Kiawah Island, South Carolina, short-term rental welcome the next round of families sharing a house.



defining the term "transient." Distinctions can be easily made between the various types of lodging and rental property, and only those uses that are specifically listed as permitted or conditional should locate to designated districts. However, where single-family residences are a permitted use, and the length of tenure is unspecified, nothing in the ordinance can stop property owners from renting the house on a short-term basis.

Definitive Criteria

For communities grappling with such disputes, clear definitions are essential. Other terms for short-term rentals include transient commercial use, vacation rental home, vacation property, transient lodging, resort dwelling, and resort housing. Because transient also is used in the definition of other terms, it too should be defined in context to alleviate confusion and ambiguity. These terms are defined using various criteria, such as structure type, length of stay, measures of occupants' permanency, number of occupants, and the type of occupants (family members or unrelated people).

The type of structure (single or multifamily) often is not specified in the ordinance, allowing room for interpretation

Regulating the number of occupants also can mitigate the impacts of rental properties. Some communities specify total number of occupants by persons per bedroom, family members, or non-related persons, notwithstanding local fire codes. Islamorada, Florida, limits occupancy to two people per bedroom plus two additional persons. Other communities simply limit occupancy to a single family, as defined in their ordinance (see "Definitions and Distinctions" for examples and commentary on relevant terms).

Defining family also can complicate the matter. Restricting the use of single-family homes to families can be a difficult way to regulate short-term rentals, mainly because the term family is open to a wide range of literal and legal interpretations. Even so, "traditional" families are not devoid of impact risks, including noisy infants or rowdy teenagers. The ever-changing family paradigm does not make it the best measure by which to regulate short-term rentals.

Once Defined, Where Are Short-term Rentals Allowed?

Tolerance levels about the impacts of short-term rentals will vary among communities. Communities with an intense interest in

DEFINITIONS AND DISTINCTIONS

■ BED AND BREAKFAST

Commentary: Bed and breakfasts are similar in appearance and location to many short-term rentals in residential areas. However, the primary distinction is the mitigating presence of the owner/operator.

Definitions: Generally small, owner-operated businesses providing the primary financial support of the owner. Usually the owner lives on premises. The building's primary usage is for business. Inns advertise, appropriate taxes, and post signs. Breakfast is the only meal served and only to overnight guests. The inn may host events such as weddings, small business meetings, etc. Room numbers range from four to 20 with a small, but increasing number up to 30. Reservations may be made directly with the property. (*Professional Association of Innkeepers International*)

Bed and breakfast means the use of an owner-occupied or manager-occupied residential structure providing no more than four rooms for temporary lodging for transient guests on a paying basis. A "Bed and Breakfast Inn" may include meal service for guests. (*Blue Springs, Mo.*)

■ BOARDING HOUSE

Commentary: A boarding/rooming/lodging house differs from the short-term rental house because it has multiple rooms or units for rent and occupants share common kitchen or dining facilities. Occupants of a boarding house also tend to be less transient (the definition of which depends on community standards).

Definitions: A single-family dwelling where more than two, but fewer than six rooms are provided for lodging for definite periods of times. Meals may or may not be provided, but there is one common kitchen facility. No meals are provided to outside guests. (*Champaign, Ill., which uses the term "boarding/rooming house"*)

An establishment with lodging for five or more persons where meals are regularly prepared and served for compensation and where food is placed upon the table family style, without service or ordering of individual portions from a menu. (*Venice, Fla.*)

■ FAMILY

Commentary: Restricting the use of single-family homes to families can be a problematic way to regulate short-term rentals, mainly because the term family is open to a wide range of literal and legal interpretations. Even so, a "traditional" family is not without impacts, such as vocal infants or rowdy teenag-

ers. The definition of family or single-family house is not the most widely used or recommended tool for short-term rental regulation.

Definitions: One or more persons occupying a single dwelling unit, as a single housekeeping unit, provided that unless all members are related by blood, marriage, or adoption, no such family shall contain over six persons, including any roomers, boarders and/or domestic servants. A home for independent living with support personnel that provides room and board, personal care and habilitation services in a family environment as a single-housekeeping unit for not more than six resident elderly or disabled persons (mentally and/or physically impaired) with at least one, but not more than two resident staff persons shall be considered a family. (*Tulsa, Okla.*)

One or more persons, related by blood, marriage, or adoption, occupying a living unit as an individual housekeeping organization. A family may include two, but not more than two, persons not related by blood, marriage, or adoption. (*Iowa City, Iowa*)

One or two persons or parents, with their direct lineal descendants and adopted or legally cared for children (and including the domestic employees thereof) together with not more than two persons not so related, living together in the whole or part of a dwelling comprising a single housekeeping unit. Every additional group of four or fewer persons living in such housekeeping unit shall be considered a separate family for the purpose of this code. (*St. Paul, Minn.*)

Two or more persons related to each other by blood, marriage, or legal adoption living together as a single housekeeping unit; or a group of not more than three persons who need not be related by blood, marriage, or legal adoption, living together as a single housekeeping unit and occupying a single dwelling unit. (*Lake County, Ill.*)

One or more persons occupying a premise[s] and living as a single housekeeping unit as distinguished from a group occupying a boardinghouse, lodging house, or hotel as herein defined. (*Scottsdale, Ariz.*)

■ GUEST HOUSE OR GUEST COTTAGE

Commentary: Guest cottages can present a loophole for short-term rentals in single-family residential districts unless certain specifications are made—namely that usage is only allowed for non-paying guests.

Definition: Guest house (accessory dwelling unit) means a detached or attached accessory structure secondary to the principal single-family residential unit designed and most commonly used for irregular residential occupancy by family members, guests, and persons providing health care or property maintenance for the owner. (*San Juan County, Wash.*)

■ HOTEL OR MOTEL

Commentary: Hotels/Motels typically have separate entrances and an on-site management office.

Definitions: A building in which lodging is provided and offered to the public for compensation, and which is open to transient guests and is not a rooming or boarding house as herein defined. (*Boone County, Mo.*)

A building or group of buildings in which lodging is provided to transient guests, offered to the public for compensation, and in which access to and from each room or unit is through an exterior door. (*Cecil County, Md.*)

■ TRANSIENT

Commentary: "Transient" can be used to describe a person or a land use. Ambiguous or subjective words—"short," "long," "seasonal," "temporary"—should be either avoided altogether or clarified with precise units of time—number of hours, days, weeks, or months. When a community defines a transient as a person living in a dwelling unit for "a short time only," the term "short" could be interpreted in a variety of ways. To alleviate further confusion, the nature of a person's stay may be clarified, as is done in the definition below from Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin.

Definitions: A person who travels from place to place away from his or her permanent address for vacation, pleasure, recreation, culture, or business. (*Sturgeon Bay, Wis.*)

Any person who exercises occupancy or is entitled to occupancy by reason of concession, permit, right of access, license or other agreement for a period of 30 consecutive calendar days or less, counting portions of calendar days as full days. Any such person so occupying space in a visitor accommodation facility shall be deemed to be a transient until the period of 30 days has expired unless there is an agreement, in writing, between the operator and the occupant providing for a longer period of occupancy. (*Monterey, Calif.*)

promoting tourism may be more permissive, allowing them in restricted districts, while others will diligently protect residential districts. In the most restrictive communities, short-term rentals may be prohibited outright in residential districts. Monroe County, Florida, prohibits them unless a majority of homeowners vote them into a subdivision. Communities may permit short-term rentals as a conditional use or allow them only when rented fewer than four times each year.

Conditional Uses and Licensing

Whether short-term rentals are allowed by right or as a conditional use, additional requirements to benefit both the occupants and neighbors are recommended. For example, operating a short-term rental may require physical inspection to determine the safety of the structure from hazards such as fire and over occupancy. Other requirements might include posting a "notice to occupant" reminding visitors of mandatory evacuation in case of a hurricane (in prone areas) or a "code of conduct" for the neighborhood, which might list regulations for occupancy, parking, boat dockage, fines, or helpful information such as garbage and recycling pick-up. Both should be printed in a large font and prominently displayed.

Regulating by Ratio

Menocino County, California, settled on an acceptable ratio of short-term rental properties to year-round residents: Locals deemed 13 year-round resident houses to one short-term rental house tolerable. The community requires operating permits for short-term rental properties. An additional vacation rental permit is issued for every 13 new residential units. The number of permits is finite but siting is still flexible. To maintain an orderly and fair distribution of permits, the county does not allow them to be sold or transferred. The county considers short-term rentals a commercial use, allowing additional short-term rentals as part of a 50/50 mix of commercial and long-term residential dwelling units in mixed-use districts.

Legal Challenges

Legal challenges will invariably arise in neighborhoods where homeowners enjoying the comforts of a quiet back yard are suddenly interrupted by noise or light from an adjacent short-term rental property. Places with restrictions on short-term rentals such as Key West and Imperial Beach have faced legal challenges, which may include vesting, consistency with the comprehensive plan, definition of family, and allowable time for amortization. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that the longer an ordinance has been in place, the more accepted it is. Most of the planners interviewed for this article were confident in the defensibility of their short-term rental ordinances.

Mitigation and Amortization

Some of the mitigation tools used to offset the impacts of short-term rentals include having a 24-hour contact person or management service, vehicle registration, and short-term rental medallions—a sign or badge on the front of the home identifying the residence as a vacation property, the name of the management company, and a contact person. The use of medallions is widely criticized because critics say they invite thieves and vandals. Such mitigation measures are typically paid for and provided by the property owner as a condition of receiving an operating permit. Other measures, such as increasing code enforcement staff—as is done in Key West—or bolstering visitor awareness through signage to politely inform them of the neighborhood's quiet residential character may be paid for with tax revenue generated from short-term rental properties.

To avoid a takings challenge, communities that have recently enacted more restrictive codes also have included an amortization schedule that phases out short-term rental properties. Islamorada allows two years for amortization and Imperial Beach is proposing five-year amortization. Sullivan's Island, South Carolina, requires proof of use as a short-term rental during the previous 12-month period to reduce the number of rental properties. Those that lapse are not eligible for future licensing.

Enforcement

Detection of problem rentals can occur either from complaining neighbors or a dedicated municipal enforcement staff. Penalty fines range from \$100 a day in Saco, Maine, to \$500 for each day of violation in Kiawah Island, South Carolina. Other penalties include denied permit renewals, permit revocation, or misdemeanor citations. Fines are a comparatively small expense for property owners whose short-term rentals generate healthy returns, so some owners virtually ignore the restrictions, says Monroe County planner Marlene Conway. Saco requires property owners to renew permits annually. A history of complaints is kept on file and those with more than two recorded complaints will not be issued a permit for the coming year.

Administering a short-term rental ordinance burdens both the budget and staff. Issuing permits and code enforcement takes time and money. Permit or licensing fees and taxes on short-term lodging can offset these expenses. Fees vary from a fixed amount to a sliding scale based on the percent of income generated per calendar year—both of which usually amount to \$100 to \$200. In states that grant local governments the authority to tax this type of land use, the taxes for the lodging fee can range from four percent on the low end to seven percent in Deschutes County, Oregon. Santa Cruz, California, taxes 10 percent.

Conclusion

Technology, telecommuting, and lifestyle priorities will continue to fuel the infiltration of newcomers into resort communities with long-established residents. For these and other reasons, the populations of traditional get-away destinations will surge and change, bringing with them increased pressure to adapt to new people and new land-use challenges. Deciding whether short-term rentals are commercial or residential land uses is an important first step in addressing the issue. Perhaps the zoning code is the best defense in preserving the tranquility that made such places attractive in the first place.

Selected ordinances from the short-term rentals survey are available to *Zoning News* subscribers. Please contact Michael Davidson, Co-editor, *Zoning News*, American Planning Association, 122 South Michigan Avenue, Suite 1600, Chicago, IL 60603, or e-mail mdavidson@planning.org.

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